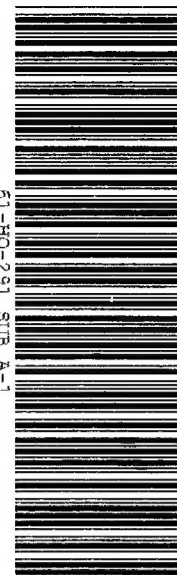


61-

HQ-291 SUB A

Serials 1

Sec. 1



61-HQ-291 SUB A-1

Department of Justice

REMOVED FROM OR ADD

NOT DESTROY  
ORIGINAL VALUE  
ORIGINAL ARCHIVES

AL BUI

FBI - CENTRAL RECORDS CENTER

HQ - HEADQUARTERS

Class / Case # Sub Vol. Serial #

0061 291 A 1 1 OPEN

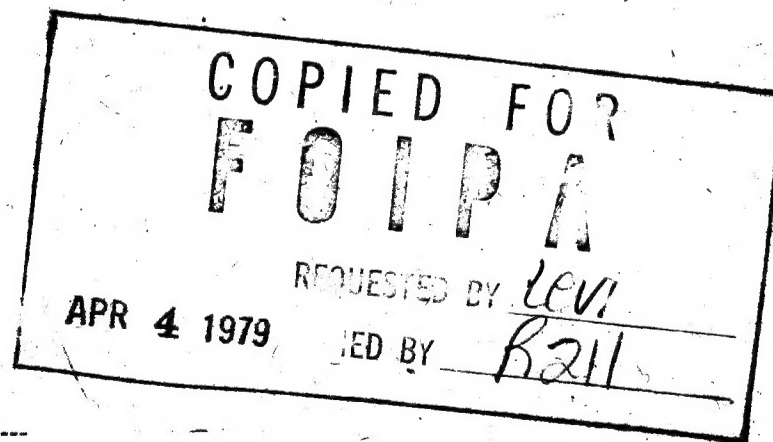


RRP0031UFN

4/11/501254

of

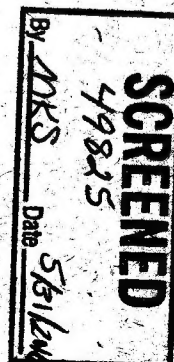
# INVESTIGATION



SUB A

See also Nos. ....

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....



ENCLOSURE  
49825  
5/15/86

MR. NATHAN.....  
MR. TOLSON.....  
MR. CLEGG.....  
MR. COWLEY.....  
MR. EDWARDS.....  
MR. EGAN.....  
MR. QUINN.....  
MR. LESTER.....  
CHIEF CLERK.....  
MR. RORER.....

0  
EMMA GOLDMAN

MR. NATHAN.....  
MR. TOLSON.....  
MR. CLEGG.....  
MR. COWLEY.....  
MR. EDWARDS.....  
MR. EGAN.....  
MR. QUINN.....  
MR. LESTER.....  
CHIEF CLERK.....  
MR. RORER.....

0  
EMMA GOLDMAN



# The Survivor

43

MURRAY KEMPTON

Richard Drinnon, who seems thoroughly unqualified by modern standards for the job, has produced a biography of Emma Goldman, the American anarchist. Naturally, it is a wonderful piece of work.

Drinnon's academic qualifications do not impress; he appears to have drifted from college to college, fleeing whenever possible to a Fulbright, and carrying Emma's image in his heart. No one, I am sure, would recommend him or his project for one of those lifetime grants which end in huge, dead and neutral compendiums. Consequently he has a space problem which forces him to discard dead paper and limit himself to 340 pages, the most his publishers could sensibly be expected to give him. Since he obviously read what he threw away, this is an advantage.

He seems to have no politics and says he rather disliked old Emma at the start. This means that he was converted by his investigations, an absolute condition for enjoying one's work. He has ended up inhabiting Emma's world.

Emma Goldman moved, of course, through the America of before the First World War. She was an immense force of rebellion, love and suffering through that period. It seems futile to wish for her kind back again; you cannot legislate the heroic heart.

Now her life is ancient history, so ancient in fact that searching the index I can find only three living Americans who have any real connection with it. They are Max Eastman, Margaret Sanger and, of course, J. Edgar Hoover. Men die or change, but J. Edgar Hoover goes on, a great never-conquered fortress in the history of American liberty.

One of the great triumphs of Hoover's early career in law enforcement was that he deported Emma Goldman in 1920. He was then in charge of the general investigations division of the Dept. of Justice.

Emma Goldman's citizenship depended on her marriage to a naturalized American named Jacob Kersner, who seems to have been the most pallid of all the men in her life. The marriage hadn't lasted long, and Kersner had disappeared thereafter. In 1908, the Justice Dept. moved to denaturalize him, "for the purpose of depriving Emma Goldman of her rights of citizenship, she being the wife of Kersner."

The grounds for Kersner's denaturalization were that he had messed up the dates on the citizenship application. Kersner could not be found to defend himself.

Emma Goldman's defense was to find Kersner. Her lawyers had no reason to know whether he was still alive or, if he were dead, whether he had died before 1908, which would have voided his denaturalization. The helpful J. Edgar Hoover went searching and came up with the statement that Kersner had died early in 1919. The government would not give the defense the place and circumstances of his death. Hoover's judge dutifully found Emma Goldman "an enemy of the United States and its peace and comfort" and no citizen, and ordered her deportation. Hoover went down to the boat to see her off.

Emma went to Russia and there, in the shortest possible time, was shocked and disillusioned and left as a stateless person in 1921. She wandered thereafter about Europe, always homesick for America. In 1934, she was readmitted for a lecture tour for three months. FBI men dogged her trail; one of them reported that in Pittsburgh, she had said that the people of the U. S. were lucky to have their freedom to speak out and should never give it up. Hoover sent this on to the Justice Dept. as an indication that Emma might be violating her agreement not to disturb the peace during her visit.

So now Emma and most of her friends are dead, and only J. Edgar Hoover lives on. Providence and history do not always make fair ex-

Emma Goldman's citizenship depended on changes.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/glu

58 NOV 3 1961

Tolson ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Wick ✓  
Clegg ✓  
Glavin ✓  
Ladd ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel ✓  
Trotter ✓  
Tele Room ✓  
Ingram ✓  
Gandy ✓

REC-3

61-2910  
NOT RECORDED  
184 OCT 31 1961

The Washington Post and Times Herald  
The Washington Daily News  
The Evening Star  
New York Herald Tribune  
New York Journal-American  
New York Mirror  
New York Daily News  
New York Post 43  
The New York Times  
The Worker  
The New Leader  
The Wall Street Journal  
Date

OCT 24 1961

# The News

HOW TRUTH  
FINALLY OVERTOOK  
EMMA GOLDMAN

- Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nathan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Lester \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. McIntire \_\_\_\_\_
- Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

ON the fourteenth of this month of May 1940, Emma Goldman died in Toronto, Canada.

She was 71 years old and for very many turbulent years had been known in America as an advocate of revolutionary social change.

At first she was an Anarchist and supporter of the doctrines of Herr Most—later a Communist and supporter of the revolutionary teachings of Karl Marx.

Finally after disillusioning experiences in Russia she became an opponent of both theories and devoted the last years of her life to a crusade against Russian bolshevism, which she declared had given Russia "a far worse tyranny than under the Czar."

Emma Goldman was born in Russia in 1869 and came to the United States with her family when she was 15.

In 1887 she was—or believed she was—converted to the philosophy of anarchism by her resentment against the hanging of the Haymarket bombers and murderers in Chicago.

But the real impelling emotions in the belief and actions of Emma Goldman were chronic discontent, and rebellion against the rules and restraints of organized society.

Her advocacy was free thinking, free living, and free loving, and her preachment was that law and order and government were unnecessary restrictions upon the personal freedom of the individual, and that the people ought to be educated to the point where they would no longer need government regulation and restraint.

When Emma Goldman—a name she always retained although married to Jacob Kersner in 1887—was deported from the United States to Russia, along with 248 other undesirables, in 1919, her last defiant remark was:

"We expect to be called back to a SOVIET America."

The anarchism of Herr Most had become unpopular, or at least unfashionable, in the beginning of the Twentieth Cen-

...and class hatred and the resentment against organized society which inspired anarchism was equally the inspiration of communism.

So the Anarchists for the most part became Communists, and pinned their faith on the theories of murder and plunder of the upper classes as advocated in the works of Karl Marx, and on the actual experiment in murder and plunder being carried on by wholesale and with wholeheartedness in Russia.

So Emma went not willingly, to be sure, but confidently to Russia, where she fondly believed that the realization of her dream was in vigorous and vindictive operation.

It is probable that Mrs. Goldman was genuinely convinced of the efficacy and practicability of her mistaken theories of revolution. She had preached them unremittingly for 30 years or more.

She had led strikes of violence and she had served a term of seven months on Blackwell's Island for "urging revolution, violence and bloodshed." But she had never seen her ideal social system in operation until she reached Russia.

She had not been there many months before she wrote her niece in Rochester that in view of what she had seen as the result of the practice of her revolutionary theories, she considered bolshevism "rotten" and that instead of giving the Russian people liberty, it had deprived them of all freedom.

In 1921, two years after she had been deported from America to Russia, Mrs. Goldman went to Germany and spent the next three years lecturing against Russia.

A year later, Mrs. Goldman went to England and delivered a series of lectures there against Russia and the Communist government she had once extolled.

Then she went to France and spent some five years in that country expending her extraordinary energies in writing, always denouncing bolshevism but claiming that it was not true communism—never seeming fully to realize that anarchism and communism are utterly impractical theories and never can be made to operate any more successfully than they do in Russia in the complex organization of civilized society.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 [signature]

PERHAPS in the end she did reach the understanding that the only proper and practicable expression of absolute individual liberty is in democracy, and that class government is and necessarily must be nothing else than tyranny.

At last after 15 years of exile, when Mrs. Goldman was allowed to return to the United States for a brief 90-day period, in a lecture in New York, speaking sadly and regretfully of the land she had been compelled to leave, she declared she was finally convinced that "America will be the last country in the world to have a revolution."

Emma Goldman's life, while not admirable, was pathetic. She came from a land of brutal despotism.

She had been raised to hate an evil government, and during her long life in this free country of America, which had given her and her family harbor from oppression, she never seemed to realize the difference between the liberal and enlightened Government of America and the cruel tyranny she had left.

Not until she had left America to go back to the Russia she had thought regenerated, did she come to appreciate the value of the democracy she had lost—the futility and utter failure of the anarchism and communism she had advocated when put into practical or rather impractical operation.

IN exposing the ...  
...the ...  
...the ...  
...the ...

MAY 21 1940

61-291-A  
NOT RECORDED  
WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

a reign of terror more complete and horrifying than ever existed under the Romanoffs. Democracy in Russia is a complete farce—a tragic farce—for the illusion that the people rule is maintained by the imprisonment and death of all who disagree.

"It is extremely hard to find out the truth about conditions. The Soviet leaders are very clever men; it is not surprising that they duped the trade-union leaders who went over from England on a six weeks' visit and brought back such glowing accounts.

"I, myself, was deceived at first. When I heard firing outside my window in the morning, I was told that it was a crowd of recruits having rifle practice. I only discovered later that it meant that another batch of prisoners had gone to their death for daring to whisper that Soviet rule was not so beneficent as it professed to be.

"Communist Russia is maintained by a spirit of militarism antagonistic to every principle for which the people fought. Soldiers are a privileged class, who are given the best of everything. They are pampered in every way in order that they may be ready to shoot down their fellow workers at the bidding of the Communist leaders, whose only hope now lies in a reign of terror.

"A huge system of espionage has grown up. It is impossible to trust anyone. Children are bribed or terrified into spying on their parents.

"The spies of the Cheka—the secret police—are everywhere. Only a short while ago 3,000 people were seized by the Cheka and cast into prison, there to wait in hunger, cold and humiliation, without trial, until they die or are driven insane.

"The prisons are full of peasants. Everywhere I went, when they discovered I was a friend, I was told tales of dissatisfaction and of tyranny such as I hardly believed possible.

"Labor conditions are terrible. The highways and byways of Russia are thronged with an ever-growing number of destitute children. The Bolsheviks, who at one time waxed so indignant at the mere thought of capital punishment, have now compiled a code of laws which comprises, among 200 articles on punishment, 42 crimes punishable by death. Only those who really know Russia since the revolution know these things. The truth is not allowed to leak out."

THUS at last Emma Goldman experienced the dissipation of her dreams and came to realize that class government had given Russia "a far worse tyranny than under the Czar."

Thus at the end of a long and violent career devoted mainly to advocacy of revolt against the social organization, she came to see clearly, although through eyes suffused with tears, that "America will be the last country in the world to have a revolution."

And so will it prove to be if only we shall maintain the eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Day/ghh

## 'Red Emma' Goldman Dies At 71 After Long Illness

Hectic Political Career  
Of U. S. Anarchist  
Is Ended in Toronto

Toronto (Tuesday), May 14 (AP).—  
Emma Goldman, internationally-  
known anarchist, died early today  
at her home here after an illness of  
several months.

Miss Goldman, who would have  
been 71 next June 27, suffered a  
stroke last February and spent sev-  
eral months in a hospital. Until re-  
cently, she had appeared to be im-  
proving in health, however.

Emma Goldman, a philosophical  
anarchist, became known as "Red  
Emma" on both sides of the Atlantic  
because of her constant preaching  
of a social revolution.

She always denied that she ad-  
vocated violence, but from the time of  
the Chicago Haymarket bombings  
on May Day, 1886, until the United  
States entered the World War in  
April 1917, her name was linked,  
directly or indirectly, with almost  
every major instance of violence  
against the existing order that took  
place in this country.

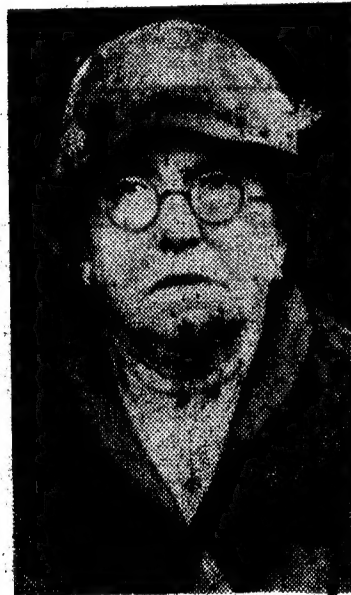
Deported in December, 1919, after  
serving a short prison term for ob-  
structing the World War draft, she  
was sent to her native Russia. She  
soon fell out with the Soviet leaders,  
denounced Bolshevism as tyrannical  
and spent the following years wan-  
dering restlessly about Europe, al-  
ways casting a longing eye toward  
America's shores.

Born in Kovno, Russia (now in  
Lithuania), June 27, 1869, the  
daughter of a Russian Jewish  
family, she came to this country  
with her family when she was 15  
years old.

For making speeches "urging  
revolution, violence and bloodshed"  
in connection with the Debs rail-  
way strike of 1893, she was ar-  
rested in New York and served  
seven months on Blackwell's Island.  
Part of the time she was in the  
dungeon because of trouble with  
the head matron.

On September 6, 1901, Leon  
Czolgosz shot President McKinley  
at Buffalo, N. Y. In his confession,  
the assassin said he had been in-  
fluenced by the writings of Emma  
Goldman. She was arrested and  
questioned for two weeks.

Convicted of obstructing the  
World War draft, Miss Goldman was



EMMA GOLDMAN

fined \$10,000 and sentenced to two  
years in Jefferson City, Mo.

Upon release deportation pro-  
ceedings were brought.

Because the United States had no  
diplomatic intercourse with the So-  
viet Union, Miss Goldman and other  
Russian deportees were disem-  
barked in Finland. A few days later  
they went by train to Russia and  
were given an official welcome.

But six months later she was  
quoted in dispatches as saying that  
bolshevism was "rotten" and she  
wrote to her niece in Rochester, N.  
Y., that the system had taken away  
all freedom from the Russian peo-  
ple. Within a year she had quar-  
reled with Lenin and Trotsky and  
fled to Berlin.

In September, 1924, English recog-  
nition of Russia gave her a passport  
visa which enabled her to enter  
England. She was there for months  
as a lecturer "consecrated to the ex-  
posure of the Bolshevik myths."

Miss Goldman's next appearance  
came in March, 1932, when she vis-  
ited Copenhagen.

Her antipathy to bolshevism was  
based upon a conclusion that the  
system had given humanity more  
a far worse thing than under the  
czar.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nathan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Lester \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McIntire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Pers. Files \_\_\_\_\_  
Adm. Files \_\_\_\_\_  
Tour Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOT RECORDED

INDEXED MAY 14 1940

WASH. POST

HAN

## ANARCHY

OVER in Nice, Alexander Berkman, an elderly, short-sighted, sick little man, committed his first successful act of terrorism by shooting himself to death. Neighbors, with whom he had lived for years, were shocked to learn that he once was famous as America's No. 1 anarchist.

Berkman's life and death hold a text for American workers and their bosses, particularly right now. As a youth of 21 he hurled himself into the bloody Homestead steel strike of 44 years ago, seeking to terrorize the owners by the nihilist methods of his native Czarist Russia. His intended victim was Henry C. Frick, head of Carnegie Steel, that operated the Homestead plant. Shouldering his way past a guard, he entered Frick's Pittsburgh office and shot and stabbed the steel man twice before he was overpowered. Frick recovered and Berkman was sentenced to 18 years in prison.

gpt  
Frick  
gpt

Those years turned him from a terrorist into a philosophical anarchist, but he continued to preach his religion of hate against all government. Deported after the war, he became a man without a country, hating Red Russia as violently as Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

Berkman, futile anarchist, is dead. But anarchy in America is not. Read the stories of armed labor spies and provocateurs, of the Black Legion's terrorist beatings and killings, of southern mob lynchings, of California vigilantism, of Carolina floggings and other nihilistic outbreaks in this country today.

But those, like Berkman, will pass away. For ours is a civilization of law. And he who takes the sword must, in the end, perish thereby.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghw

61-291-A

100-2-10-113

100-2-10-113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/94 BY 2323 [signature]

## 'RED' BERKMAN DEAD BY SHOTS

NICE, France, July 1 (U.S.). Alexander S. Berkman, notorious anarchist-assassin who, with "Red Emma" Goldman, his comrade in free love and revolution, plagued American authorities for 30 years, died in a Nice hospital from revolver wounds Sunday, it was learned today. Berkman, who was 65, was believed to be a suicide.

The man who served 14 years in prison for attempting to assassinate the late Henry Clay Frick, American steel magnate, was found wounded in his apartment Sunday morning at 1 a. m. He was shot in the lungs and stomach and died that night.

Police were not immediately satisfied that his death was a suicide and they arrested Maria Ecksden, a woman with whom Berkman had been living. She was later released, but police said the investigation was not closed.

The Russian-born Berkman's life personified all that anarchism means. Bomb, pistol and dagger were his chosen instruments of political change.

Mr. Nathan .....
Mr. Tolson .....
Mr. Baughman .....
Chief Clerk .....
Mr. Clegg .....
Mr. Coffey .....
Mr. Edwards .....
Mr. Egan .....
Mr. Foxworth .....
Mr. Glavin .....
Mr. Joseph .....
Mr. Lester .....
Mr. Quinn .....
Mr. Schilder .....
Mr. Tamm .....
Mr. Tracy .....
Miss Gandy .....

*Washington Herald*  
7/2/36

61-241-A

XX



# BERKMAN, FAMED ANARCHIST, DIES

**Terrorist Who Tried to Kill  
Henry C. Frick, Shoots  
Self at Nice.**

By the Associated Press.

NICE, France, July 1.—Alexander Berkman, the internationally-known anarchist, died June 28 in a hospital here of a self-inflicted bullet wound, it was disclosed today.

Berkman, would-be assassin of the late Henry C. Frick, Pittsburgh steel magnate, shared with Emma Goldman the leadership of the groups of anarchists which sprang up in the wake of the 1886 Haymarket riots in Chicago and plagued American authorities until their wholesale deportation December 21, 1921.

In that period occurred such major outrages as the attempt to kill Russell Sage, New York financier, with a bomb in 1891; the assassination of President McKinley, 1901; the dynamiting of the Los Angeles Times Building in 1909 and the bombing of the San Francisco preparedness parade in 1916. Rampant radicalism was at the bottom of all these events and of scores of less spectacular crimes in connection with the constant agitation against the social and political order.

Many of these events, notably the McKinley assassination, were connected by direct evidence with the preachments and writings of Berkman, Miss Goldman and their satellites. Berkman was editing a magazine called the Blast when the San Francisco preparedness day bomb exploded, and was indicted ~~for murder~~ in connection with that event, but was not brought to trial.

In February, 1915, he acknowledged that an explosion ~~the previous~~ July at 133d street and Lexington avenue, New York, in which three men were killed, resulted from efforts to manufacture a bomb which was to have been used against John D. Rockefeller and his son. This was at the time when agitators and pickets had pursued the Rockefellers from New York to Tarrytown to Cleveland and back to Tarrytown. There 250 special police protected the multimillionaire and several anarchistic speakers were soundly trounced by the guards.

Justice caught up with Berkman three times. He served nearly 14 years for his attack on Frick, spent two years in Atlanta penitentiary for obstructing the draft in the World War and then was deported, together with Miss Goldman, to their native Russia.

Berkman was born in Vilna, now incorporated in Poland, November 21, 1870, of prosperous Jewish parents. Owing to his father's business position, the family was permitted to reside in St. Petersburg and Berkman's childhood was spent there. Then the father's death lost his survivors the right to live in the old Czarist capital and the widow, selling the business, moved with her three sons and two daughters to Kovno, now capital of Lithuania. This city was the natal town of Miss Goldman.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 *Day/gkw*

61-291-A

WAS A BARR  
JUL 1 1938

**EMMA GOLDMAN ACTS  
AS BERKMAN'S AGENT**

**Associate Winds Up Affairs of  
Suicide Anarchist**

NICE, France, July 2 (AP).—Emma Goldman, long-time associate of Anarchist Alexander Berkman, today was reported settling the affairs of her friend, who died of what police said was a self-inflicted bullet wound.

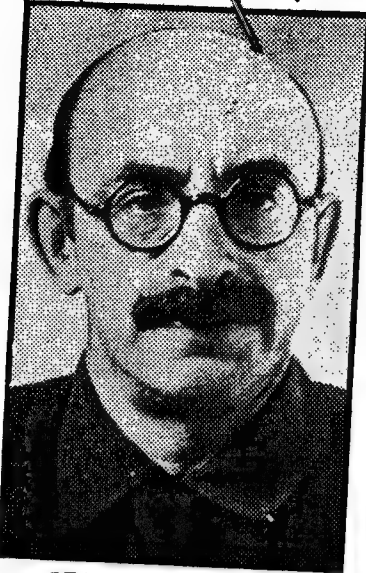
Miss Goldman came here after Berkman's death Sunday, her friends said, and arranged simple funeral services at a small cemetery outside Nice, where the anarchist was buried yesterday.

Police were charged by Berkman's neighbors with attempting to suppress information on the death of the sixty-six-year-old head of the First Anarchist Commune Soviet of America. Berkman's identity was confused at first, officials declared, since his passport listed him as Bergmann-Schmidt.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Bay/gln

61-391-A

**KILLED HIMSELF**



**ALEXANDER BERKMAN**

The veteran anarchist shot and killed himself in Nice, on the Riviera.

## BERKMAN SUICIDE BY BULLET AT NICE

**Anarchist Died in Hospital  
Sunday, French Authorities  
Reveal**

NICE, France, July 1 (AP).— Alexander Berkman, the internationally-known anarchist, died June 28 in a hospital here of a self-inflicted bullet wound, it was disclosed today.

The oft-jailed friend of Emma Goldman, with whom he was deported from the United States in 1920, was sixty-six.

Hospital authorities said Berkman was taken to the hospital with a bullet in his chest. He had been found wounded in his home in Nice.

### Born in Poland

Berkman and Emma Goldman, who were deported together as anarchists in 1919, were born in the same town, Kovno, Poland, but they never knew each other until both had been in the United States for some years.

He had engaged in a number of violent demonstrations against capitalism, but it was for obstructing the draft in 1917 that he was sent to the Atlanta Penitentiary for two years and deported at the expiration of that sentence.

### Russell Sage Bombing

He was connected with or blamed for a long series of attacks on prominent personages, beginning in 1891 with the attempt to assassinate Russell Sage with a bomb.

In 1901 he was accused of participation in the assassination of President McKinley.

In 1909 he was said to have been one of those who planned the bombing of the Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco, for which Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still in prison.

### Plo on Rockefeller

He was indicated for murder in connection with that bombing, but never was brought to trial. It was said at the time that his preachings in The Blast, a radical newspaper, were responsible for the bombing.

In 1915 he admitted that an explosion which ripped apart a house at 133d Street and Lexington Avenue was caused by a slip-up while he was making a bomb he had intended to throw at John D. Rockefeller.

Three men were killed in that explosion and Rockefeller was accompanied for some time thereafter by a guard of 250 special policemen.

### Homestead Strike

In 1892, during the violent strikes at the Homestead steel mills in

Pennsylvania, Berkman gained admission to the private office of Henry C. Frick, head of the company, by posing as an agent for a strike-breaking outfit.

Once inside he sent two bullets into Frick. Before he could fire

again, H. G. A. Leishman, an official of the company who later became American Minister to Turkey, threw up Berkman's gun and the third shot went wild.

Before he was overpowered, Berkman drew a knife and stabbed Frick twice in the neck. Frick recovered, but Berkman spent nineteen years in prison for the attempted murder.

Berkman used to say he was born in St. Petersburg, but it was pretty definitely established that Kovno was his birthplace. He came to the United States in 1887, got a job as a printer and worked at various times in New York, New Haven and Nashville, Tenn., under various names.

He said once that it was the Haymarket riots in Chicago and the subsequent execution of the perpetrators of the bombing which started the riots which turned him to anarchism.

"I wanted to free the earth of the oppressors of the workingman," he said.

### Reunited With Emma Goldman

Brought together by this common interest, he and Emma Goldman began working together. They were arrested in 1917, separated when he went to Atlanta and she to the prison at Jefferson City, Mo., and reunited when they were deported two years later with 247 others.

They were welcomed by the Soviet authorities when they got to Russia, but within a year they had quarreled with both Lenin and Trotsky.

61-291-A

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/gku

71

## Time in U.S. Ended, "Red Emma" Goes

NEW YORK April 30 (U.S.). Emma Goldman, aged Anarchist who was admitted to the United States several months ago to visit relatives in Rochester, left for Toronto today, the last day of the stay in the United States allowed her by immigration authorities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333 Daj/ghr

61-171-A

15-18-19

# Emma Goldman Quits Beloved New York, But Pioneer Red Chief Hopes to Return

**Visa Ended, Anarchist  
Heads for Canada  
Write Stories**

By JOHN NEWMAN

Emma Goldman, one of the most famous American radicals, is leaving New York after forty years, and she is saying a regretful farewell to the city.

She did not want to leave the ninety-day visa expired, and all her efforts to obtain extension of the time limit failed.

"New York is my city," she said just before her departure. "It was my city for thirty years. Of course I would like to stay here. No other place can mean as much to me."

Emma, now sixty-three, spoke with resignation. There was a ring of deep affection in her voice. She gazed out of a window in her suite at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, drinking in the vitality and the beauty of New York.

Her departure for Montreal by



EMMA GOLDMAN

**Sees Wide Social Change  
on Eve of Red Strikes  
in U. S.**

train was to be a second involuntary exile from the United States, at the insistence of the Government.

Her first was in December, 1919, when she and Alexander Berkman were deported for their pacifist-anarchist activities in which they were associated for many years as America's pioneer radicals.

Berkman is now living in France, at Nice, where Emma also made her home before she began her current lecture tour.

Emma's plans for the future are necessarily vague. She has high hopes of being admitted to the United States for another visit next fall. Meanwhile, she will stay in Canada.

"I am so tired," she said. "First of all I must rest. But only for

Continued on Page 16, Col. 5

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/gh

61-69



MONDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1939

## EMMA GOLDMAN GOES IN SORROW

She Takes  
—Hopes

Page One

"I have 'orders' to write. I must write. I have 'orders' to write articles for magazines here."

Settling her more than stout figure into a large chair, Emma discoursed on her impressions of America and her beloved New York. "I am much impressed with the tremendous social awakening on the part of the American people," she said.

"Of course, there has been time for many changes in the order of things during the years that I have been in Europe. In that period I have had only newspaper accounts and the reports of my friends as to what has been going on. I imagine that most of the changes came about in the last few years."

### Sees an Awakening

"Social awakening? Well, by that I mean an awareness of what is going on, politically, economically. America's masses are concerning themselves with matters to which they seldom gave a thought twenty years ago. They are thinking about the social order. They are alive to new trends of thought on that subject."

She talked clearly and forcefully, with only the slightest accent to indicate her Russian origin.

Despite her impassioned love for this country, she made no secret of the fact that, as a thoroughgoing anarchist, she despised its form of government along with all others.

"The New Deal here is nothing more than an artificial and temporary extension of the capitalistic system," she announced.

"I am sure of that, although I cannot now pass judgment on the merits of the Roosevelt administration as compared to others."

"I have been here only three months." She seemed to sigh as she spoke.

"Certainly I am not qualified to gauge the full significance of what is going on."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333  
Saj/glw

### **Sees Spread of Fascism**

"In Europe I foresee the spread of Fascism. It is a stupid system, but in ten years all of the Continent will be under it."

"At present it is difficult to see the future in Spain now. There lies the best possibility for a new and better social order. Things are happening there."

"The masses of Spain are moving in the right direction, slowly but definitely. I do not know how long it will take them to reach their destination, but I feel that they will arrive."

She hastened past a query on the nature of this Spanish ferment, in order to damn the Russian Soviet.

### **Sees Russia's Finish**

"They are finished in Russia. They have not done what they should have. They tossed anarchism aside and what have they now? Just another system."

She is especially at odds with the Communist aim of an international revolution.

"I have never believed that the object of anarchism could be achieved by stirring up a revolution or by terrorism. I believe that revolution comes inevitably when the time is ripe. I cannot make a revolution, and all the talk in the world cannot do that before the real causes have produced a situation in which revolution is inescapable."

This statement stands out in sharp contrast to Emma's police record.

### **Her Police Record Here**

In 1893 she was convicted of inciting to riot in a speech in Union Square.

In 1901 she was arrested for having incited Leon Czolgosz to the assassination of President McKinley. She was released for lack of evidence.

She served a two-year sentence for opposing conscription when the United States entered the World War. She was deported when she finished that term.

But Emma has insisted for years that she was woefully misunderstood.

"I have not changed my beliefs in the least. Certainly, I still am an anarchist. There is no other solution of the world's problems."

### **Greediest Capitalists Here**

"Greed is the predominant characteristic of capitalism. And American capitalists are the greediest in the world. I said that twenty years ago and it is still true today. The reason for it is that the capitalistic class here was self-made. There was no tradition of inherited wealth. Men earned money and made capitalists of themselves through their greed. It became a fixed characteristic."

"In Europe, on the other hand, wealth has been inherited for centuries. It remains with families who are accustomed to it, who take it as a matter of course and who, therefore, are not greedy for more. They

will have the grasping habits of the bourgeoisie."

Her future tour was not, she said, a success in a capitalist world. She made her exorbitant profit worth mentioning.

## EMMA GOLDMAN RETURNS.

Anarchist Has a Few Kind Words  
for Roosevelt.

With eleven weeks of her ninety-day tour of the United States behind her, Emma Goldman, exiled anarchist, returned to New York yesterday, established herself at the Fifth Avenue Hotel and found time to pay her respects verbally, to such diverse personages as President Roosevelt, Hitler and Mussolini.

Of the three, the President came off best, but not well.

"He has a very pleasant voice on the radio," said Emma Goldman. "Beyond that, I really wouldn't want to say anything."

Later, however, she was bent to the extent of saying that "Roosevelt has too much intelligence to be a Kerensky." As for Hitler and Mussolini, she lumped them together under the title of "nuisance."

3/16/79 2333 Day/gm

# FIGHT GOLDMAN BAN.

Pittsburgh Liberals Protest Her  
Exclusion From Public Halls.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PITTSBURGH, March 4.—Miss Emma Goldman was a centre of controversy today as liberal forces moved to protest refusals to allow her to speak March 10 in the Schenley High School Auditorium or the Carnegie Institute Music Hall.

Action is expected from the Civil Liberties Union, in whose hands the matter was placed by the Pittsburgh Educational Committee sponsoring the address. Meanwhile it has been tentatively decided to have Miss Goldman speak in the Schenley Hotel. To wit Jacobson.

School Superintendent Gen. G. Graham said today this was:

"It has always been the policy of the board not to discuss controversial issues discussed in a public high school."

Miss Goldman is to be on "The Menace of Fascism" dealing with fascism and political development in Europe.

George E. Evans, chairman of the Pittsburgh branch of the Civil Liberties Union, said:

"We have no interest in what Miss Goldman has to say, but we are ready to defend her right to say it."

Peru to Hold Election

3/16/79 2333  
Daj/ghu

61-291-

## SAYS 'MONEY' PLANS WAR.

Emma Goldman in Philadelphia  
Warns of European Strife.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 26.—Emma Goldman, arriving here today to lecture, said that revolution would come to America "when people are ripe for it."

Greeted by two railroad detectives and a reception committee, the anarchist expressed these further opinions:

"Financial and military interests are deliberately planning a war in Europe."

"Hitler will last a long time. It is not just the man who stands out in Germany, but it is a mass movement, just as it is in Italy and Austria."

"Anarchists should see to the socialization of land, where the farmer can work out his own method of living, which will be one of sustenance rather than over-production."

Miss Goldman came here from Washington. To members of the welcoming committee she had the appearance of a quiet housewife, considerably younger than her sixty-eight years.

3/16/79 2333 Day/ght



remarks.

## EMMA GOLDMAN EXTOLS ANARCHIST

At Community Church Service  
at Town Hall She Reiterates  
Loyalty to Cause.

**FEB 12 1934**

Emma Goldman, the anarchist, appeared publicly in this country yesterday for the first time since her deportation fifteen years ago, and 2,000 persons stormed the Community Church services in the Town Hall in the hope of hearing her old fiery oratory. They heard instead a calmly delivered eulogy of the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin, whose death thirteen years ago was commemorated at the church's service.

Only once, when she denounced Hitler, did her voice ring with the indignation that formerly provoked her sympathizers and opponents to stormy demonstrations.

There was no demonstration yesterday. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the church, had asked that there be no applause inside the hall, but the crowd outside, which had waited for two hours for a glimpse of her as she left the hall, gave not so much as a single hiss or cheer. There were smiles and sympathetic comment, but it was only the sort of reception that is given to a "nice old lady."

In her address on Kropotkin Miss Goldman reiterated her faith in anarchy. There was no trace of bitterness at her deportation or appreciation for being permitted to return to this country.

It was Kropotkin, she said, who influenced her decision to devote her life to the cause of anarchy.

"He was a great moral force in my life," she said.

The mild, gray-haired woman who had come on the platform with a red-and-gold shawl thrown over her black dress, betrayed the Emma Goldman of old as she waxed indignant over war.

"There is only one answer to war," she said in a voice ringing with emotion. "That is for the people to combine into a society of workers and answer war with a social revolution!"

Miss Goldman was introduced by Mr. Holmes, who said that she had been "crucified on the cross of a nation's scorn," and he pleaded that "we award her the crown which her fidelity deserved before it is too late."

3/16/79 2333  
Lij/gmw

## EMMA GOLDMAN ENDS LONG YEARS OF EXILE

*Will Visit Old Rochester Home  
and Come Here Friday  
for Lecture.*

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

TORONTO, Jan. 31.—Emma Goldman is leaving here tomorrow for Rochester to visit relatives. She will be in New York on Friday at the home of her niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantine, 15 Charlton Street. She is to lecture in the Community Church on Feb. 13 and at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Feb. 15.

ROCHESTER, Jan. 31 (AP).—Tempered by more than forty years of battling against the social order, Emma Goldman, when she arrives here tomorrow, will find a different "home" from that which she left in 1891, a fiery young anarchist.

Sixty-four now, she was 21 when, after a quarrel with her husband, she set off for New York, vowed to devote her life to anarchy. The Goldmans had settled in Rochester a few years previously after fleeing from religious persecution in Russia.

Fourteen years ago the United States deported Miss Goldman to Russia as an undesirable. She returns to her adopted land on a ninety-day permit authorized by President Roosevelt. She will find the home she last visited in 1919, but not her mother. She died in 1923 at the age of 86, unable to understand her daughter's hatred for "capitalism." Emma Goldman comes here to visit a sister, Mrs. Samuel Commins.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333  
Dg/ghw

# Emma Goldman's Career Stopped In Clash With Chief of U. S. Agents

"Red Emma" Goldman and her sly Alexander Berkman could give Roger Touhy some good advice. They could tell Touhy to quit battling and go on to jail, for they knew very well how driving and relentless a prosecutor is John Edgar Hoover, director of the division of investigation of the Department of Justice.

Emma and Alexander Berkman were Hoover's first big case, and his sending of Emma on the historic voyage aboard the Buford signalized the end of America's jittery anarchism scare.

It also signalized the rise of Hoover, who has built the world's greatest investigative agency within a decade. Following is the second installment of a series of articles telling how and portraying the man.

By FRANK C. WALDROP

Yes, "Red Emma" knows Hoover and she hates him.

So do Gaston Means, and old Doc Cook, and Machine Gun Kelly and Harvey Bailey.

So do thousands upon thousands of other law violators smaller in stature but no less guilty.

Yet Hoover doesn't hate them. He speaks with a sort of easy contempt for the latter-day gangsters and tough boys whom his "fellows" have tamed so regularly by way of jamming machine guns into their quivering bellies and slamming them in jail.

## WOULD JAIL EMMA

For Emma and "old Gaston Means," he cherishes a sort of left-handed affection. He rather admires Emma's courage, it seems, and he is constantly astounded at the wild and amusing tales that Gaston Means, even yet in the penitentiary at Lewisburg Pa., continues to toss up for Hoover to disprove.

But he wouldn't hesitate to slap Emma back in jail if she violates a Federal law. And for all his

(Continued on Page 12, Col. 2)

MR. NATHAN .....  
MR. TOLSON .....  
MR. CLEGG .....  
MR. COWLEY .....  
MR. EDWARDS .....  
MR. EGAN .....  
MR. QUINN .....  
MR. LESTER .....  
MR. LOCKE .....  
MR. ROHRER .....

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333  
Kaj/gbw

# J. E. Hoover Rose to After Starting His

Hoover Attended Night Classes  
at George Washington  
to Study Law

(Continued from First Page.)

amusement at Means's antics, he has him where he intends him to stay—in jail.

To hear him talk about these sleazy, peculiar and dangerous figures whom he chases around the nation with telephone, gun and fast moving men, one would think he had undoubtedly come to his position from a youth of contact with them.

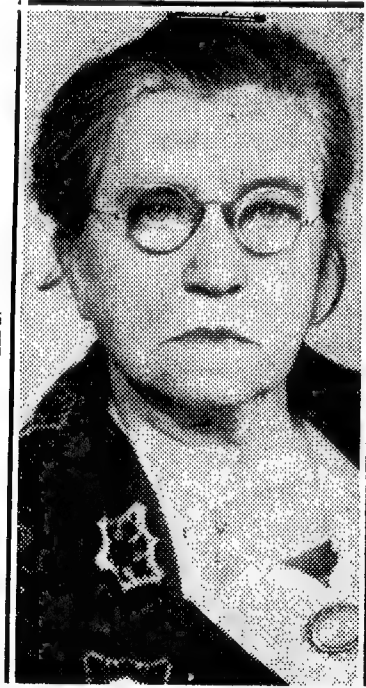
If that sounds rather like an unfair statement it is well to check over the truth about most detectives and policemen. They catch thieves because they know them familiarly, if not in individual cases, at least as a type.

To the contrary, Hoover has had very little close personal contact with these people from day to day. True, he handles every important case personally that comes to his "fellows" attention, but most patrolmen in Washington could beat him at spotting pickpockets or racing touts around town. That's because he started at crime detection from an entirely different angle than probably any other man ever did.

## STARTED AS CLERK

For Hoover started his career—believe this or not—as a clerk in the Library of Congress.

Like any well brought up youngster, he had his mind made up that he "would amount to some-



EMMA GOLDMAN

thing," but just exactly what he wasn't sure.

Unlike many other such youngsters, he was faced with a considerable difficulty outside finances or opportunity. Hoover, it has been pointed out many times, is a native Washingtonian. What's more, so were his parents.

As a matter of fact, the Hoover family is one of the oldest to have settled in the area which came to

# Chief of U. S. Justice Detectives Career as Congress Library Clerk

be designated the District of Columbia after the National Government settled here. And naturally, most of them gravitated into professional service with the Government.

So, born and bred in the shadow of the Capitol, Hoover was handicapped in his determination by a natural instinct to get into Government service, which, for purely professional workers, has always been precarious and of a strictly limited design.

## HAD DETERMINATION

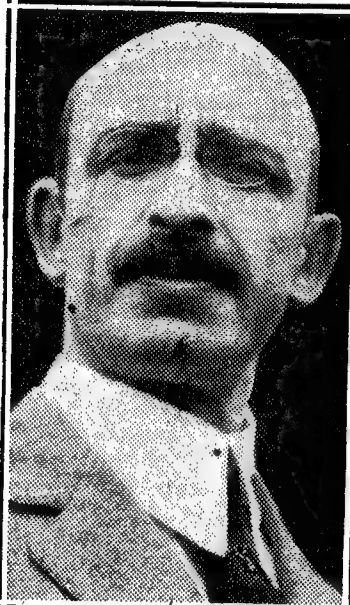
That holds a very strong clue to his behavior and his philosophy of life which have resulted in such catastrophe—really growing catastrophe, for the criminal world.

But determination drove Hoover. While he was still a youngster working in the Library of Congress after graduation from Central High School and working just how to manage the next step, his father died. Hoover had a mother to think about. His brother and sister were already married and gone from home.

His thinking about her left a mark that is still apparent.

He went to George Washington University at night—after the best American tradition of the boy who is not ashamed to get down and dig for what he wants, when he knows that his family and his friends understand and are with him—and—well, his official biography in the Department of Justice runs as follows:

"John Edgar Hoover was born January 1, 1895, in the District of Columbia and was educated in the public schools of the District of Columbia, graduating from Central High School in 1913. During the same year, 1913, Mr. Hoover entered the Library of Congress as a



ALEXANDER BERGMAN

clerk, and enrolled in George Washington University Law School as an evening student. He received the degrees of LL.B. and LL.M., from George Washington University and has been admitted to practice law before the bar of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and the United States Supreme Court, and the United States Court of Appeals.

## LOOKED FOR JOB

And it was with the equipment so obtained that he found himself looking around for a job—naturally, as a Government lawyer. He had no idea that he was moving into position as the

## Entered Justice Department By Chance Near Close of College Course

man who would have to fend off politicians on the hunt for jobs for their cousins, and would have to change his telephone number at home once a month so he can preserve what little privacy there may be left for him.

Hoover got into the Department of Justice quite by chance, as a clerk, as he was rounding out his college career. Government service, while it may have its honorary rewards, allows slim financial margins for those who deal in it. But the right sort of man seems, sometimes, to gravitate into the right sort of spot.

How Hoover began to take an interest in criminal identification and how he finally found that "hot potato," the Bureau of Investigation, shifted to his hands, will be told in tomorrow's installment of the story of his life.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

29/8W

NOT RECORDED

"World Has Changed," Says Emma  
And the Change Is "For Worse"



**IN A DILEMMA? LISTEN TO EMMA**—Commenting on world conditions, Emma Goldman (arrow), 64, anarchist, holds court in hotel suite and tells newspaper folk the world's getting worse...the possibility for another war is great...anarchism is spreading...Spain is its most fertile field...etc. Her arrival ends 14-year exile. (Mirror)

Story on Page 4

NY MIRROR 2-3-34

3/16/79

233360j/gm



# EMMA IN N. Y. SEES RED

## Believes in Sterilization, But Says Wrongdoers Suffer

The world may be spinning to its doom. Government may be a creaking wreck and the dawn of anarchy may be at hand, as Emma Goldman believes.

But somehow yesterday New York seemed to be a pleasant place for the veteran of the world fight for anarchy to be in—after an exile of 15 years.

The police, to whom she referred as "Cossacks" in the fiery days before she was deported in 1919, smoothed her path from Pennsylvania Station to a waiting limousine, driven by a "serf" for a "capitalistic" concern.

And on her way she speeded past both the hovels of the proletariat and the mansions of their "oppressors"—counting houses of Mammon and factories where "the sweat of the worker is distilled to make pearls for the nabob's concubines."

Emma Goldman refused to ride in a taxicab because of the driver's strike, but despite the fact that there is a waiters' strike on, she was installed at the Hotel Astor and prepared to meet the press.

### STILL NIMBLE MND

Emma Goldman is older. But no less quick-witted and shrewd than in the days of her greatest activity. Her finger was on the world's pulse.

"What is the world situation?" And Emma Goldman's answer is:

"It has changed for the worse."

The tone of her remarks and answers to various pointed questions yesterday, indicated that her 90-day permit to remain in this country to lecture, had no strings attached to it. She has made no bargain with her principles.

Sitting in her sunny room on the eighth floor of the Hotel Astor she gave unhesitating answers to every question put to her.

"What is your present status in connection with any government?" she was asked. Her reply was made in a broadly sarcastic tone:

"I am a loyal subject of his Britannic Majesty."

Q. Are you glad to be back in America? A. Yes. I've always considered this country my years. And you remember what Nietzsche said, "Love is the test of the power of endurance."

### ANARCHY HER CREED.

Q. What is your age? A. I am 64.

Q. What are your beliefs? A. I am an anarchist.

Q. What is the possibility of another war, soon? A. It is great. The United States is preparing for war, like every other

## "Red Emma" On Return From Exile



Gazing on the gentle, motherly face of Emma Goldman, now 64, one can hardly believe that some 4 years ago she was deported from the United States as a "dangerous anarchist." Interviewed in her "capitalistic" hotel suite, she told the "proletarian" press representatives of the 90 days of grace in which she will conduct a lecture tour.

## MORE SNOW AS CITY

The army of 30,000 men New York clear of its thick sheath 10-inch record snowfall will again, as the Weather Bureau warnings of another storm, consin brining more snow a

exiled with her after he had served a long term in prison here and who was later ejected from Russia by the Soviet government with Emma Goldman. She said he was living quietly in Nive.

Q. Are you in favor of sterilization for the betterment of the race? A. Yes, but the wrong ones are being sterilized. The rich boy their way out and the poor suffer.

Q. What do you think of the growth of Fascism? A. I find that the movement is growing, in England as well as other countries.

Q. What do you think of Italy? A. It is a marvelous country—except Mussolini.

Q. Finally, what is your objection in coming to this country?

3/16/79 2333  
Daj/gm

limousine, driven by a "serf" for a "capitalistic" concern.

And on her way she speeded past both the hovels of the proletariat and the mansions of their "oppressors"—counting houses of Mammon and factories where "the sweat of the worker is distilled to make pearls for the nabob's concubines."

Emma Goldman refused to ride in a taxicab because of the driver's strike, but despite the fact that there is a waiters' strike on, she was installed at the Hotel Astor and prepared to meet the press.

#### STILL NIMBLE MNDED

Emma Goldman is older. But no less quick-witted and shrewd than in the days of her greatest tctivity. Her finger was on the world's plse.

"What is the world situation?" And Emma Goldman's answer is:

"It has changed for the worse."

The tone of her remarks and answers to various pointed questions yesterday, indicated that her 90-day permit to remain in this country to lecture, had no strings attached to it. She has made no bargain with her principles.

Sitting in her sunny room on the eighth floor of the Hotel Astor she gave unhesitating answers to every question put to her.

"What is your present status in connection with any government?" she was asked. Her reply was made in a broadly sarcastic tone:

"I am a loyal subject of his Britannic Majesty."

Q. Are you glad to be back in America? A. Yes. I've always considered this country my years. And you remember what Nietzsche said, "Love is the test of the power of endurance."

#### ANARCHY HER CREED.

Q. What is your age? A. I am 64.

Q. What are your beliefs? A. I am an anarchist.

Q. What is the possibility of another war, soon? A. It is great. The United States is preparing for war, like every other country. America can't help it because it is a government.

She was asked about Alexander Berkman, the anarchist who was



Gazing on the gentle, motherly face of Emma Goldman, now 64, one can hardly believe that some 4 years ago she was deported from the United States as a "dangerous anarchist." Interviewed in her "capitalistic" hotel suite, she told the "proletarian" press representatives of the 90 days of grace in which she will conduct a lecture tour.

## MORE SN AS CITY I

The army of 30,000 men, York clear of its thick sheath 10-inch record snowfall will again, as the Weather Bureau warnings of another storm, consin bringing more snow a

exiled with her after he had served a long term in prison here and who was later ejected from Russia by the Soviet government with Emma Goldman. She said he was living quietly in Nive.

Q. Are you in favor of sterilization for the betterment of the race? A. Yes, but the wrong ones are being sterilized. The rich boy their way out and the poor suffer.

Q. What do you think of the growth of Fascism? A. I find that the movement is growing, in England as well as other countries.

Q. What do you think of Italy? A. It is a marvelous country—except Mussolini.

Q. Exactly what is your object in coming to this country?

A. First to see my people. Then to get material on conditions here for lectures in Europe.

3/16/79

2333

Dej/gm

10/14/79

MR. NATHAN.....  
MR. TOLSON.....  
MR. CLEGG.....  
MR. COWLEY.....  
MR. EDWARDS.....  
MR. EGAN.....  
MR. QUINN.....  
MR. LESTER.....  
MR. LOCKE.....  
MR. RORER.....  
.....

EDITORIALS

MR. NATHAN.....  
MR. TOLSON.....  
MR. CLEGG.....  
MR. COWLEY.....  
MR. EDWARDS.....  
MR. EGAN.....  
MR. QUINN.....  
MR. LESTER.....  
MR. LOCKE.....  
MR. RORER.....  
.....

EMILIA GOLDMAN

777

MR. NATHAN.....  
MR. TOLSON.....  
MR. CLEGG.....  
MR. COWLEY.....  
MR. EDWARDS.....  
MR. EGAN.....  
MR. QUINN.....  
MR. LESTER.....  
MR. LOCKE.....  
MR. ROBER.....

### Emma's Dilemma.

Although she protested in New York that she was "as bad as ever," the generation which has matured since Emma Goldman went into exile 15 years ago will not take her protestations too seriously. She has, in fact, changed greatly, as shown by her visit to Rochester, where she worked as a shop-girl and where her revolutionary career began.

Those who remembered her as "Red Emma" greeted a gray-haired woman of 64, tired from her long journey from Canada. The tongue that had once shrieked its defiance of officers of the law now utters only the philosophy of a tired and somewhat mellowed cynic. Miss Goldman is obviously a very different person to the energumen whose name was once connected with any number of overt acts designed to overthrow the existing order. The attack on Henry Frick, the railway strike of 1893, and even the assassination of McKinley—Czolgosz mentioned her among his inspirations—were only a few manifestations of violence which she was widely believed to have approved. Now, she confesses, she has no bitterness. As she stepped from the train, she embraced an old friend and murmured, "God bless you, Leila," after the manner of a maiden aunt coming for a long-deferred visit.

The truth, as Miss Goldman may perhaps confess to herself when she gets alone, is that disillusion has her in its grip. She went to Russia seeking the Nirvana of the revolutionist and was able to endure it less than six months, although when she sailed from the United States, she said, "I expect to be recalled to Soviet America." In these days of increasing governmental regimentation she has nothing to hope from anarchy, and she has passed the age when it is easy to hate. In that dilemma she must fall back on a philosophy of tranquillity which would have been anathema to the fiery spirit of her flaming youth.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

*W. C. A. S.*  
*W. C. A. S.*  
*W. C. A. S.*

61-711-A

Baltimore Sun - 2/3/34  
**On Emma**

The United States, we are told on high authority, was conceived in liberty. Yet by that inconsistency which is characteristic of human affairs, Emma Goldman, who perhaps believes in liberty more fervently than any other human being now alive, was always regarded as the most dangerous woman in the country.

The explanation of this anomaly is probably too subtle for casual discussion. But it may probably be safely said that although Americans like to talk of their love of liberty, they really fear it much more than they love it. The thought of being wholly and completely free—and it is that thought which Emma Goldman constantly expressed—is upsetting to them, it makes them uncomfortable. It even frightens them.

So Emma was popped into jail time after time and finally, when she became shrill and insistent, was kicked unceremoniously and perhaps illegally out of the country. It is interesting to note that Emma was deported almost at the time the people of the United States submitted to the final indignity of the Eighteenth Amendment, the most absurd denial of the deity who, presumably, conceived the nation.

Now, however, they have let her return. She is old and impotent. There is no longer any danger that she will overthrow the Government, but to make assurance doubly sure, they have exacted from her a promise that she will make no speeches.

This half-hearted gesture of gracious contempt—which comes almost coincidentally with the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment—doesn't mean, therefore, that the people have begun to love liberty again. It only means that they are no longer fearful that Emma will bring it into being.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

*Dej/glu*

*Baltimore - Sun*

*2-3-34*

*61-211-4*

*file  
WAC*



MR. NATHAN.....  
MR. TOLSON.....  
MR. CLEGG.....  
MR. COWLEY.....  
MR. EDWARDS.....  
MR. EGAN.....  
MR. QUINN.....  
MR. LESTER.....  
MR. LOCKE.....  
MR. RORER.....  
.....

ELIA GOLDMAN

NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2,

## ROCHESTER VISITED BY EMMA GOLDMAN

Still an Anarchist but Not  
Bitter, She Says on Return  
After 15 Years' Exile.

DEFERS COMMENT ON NRA

She Praises Roosevelt as Friend  
of Worker—Made No Pledge  
on Lecture Topics.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
ROCHESTER, Feb. 1.—Setting  
foot on American soil for the first  
time in fifteen years, Emma Gold-  
man, the "Red Emma" of former  
fiery utterances, arrived here to-  
day with quiet lips and graying  
hairs.

By a special permit from Presi-  
dent Roosevelt she is in this coun-  
try for ninety days. Bitter against  
no one, she said, she is here to visit  
her old friends and her home city  
in which she was a shop worker  
years ago.

"My views have not changed,"  
she declared. "I am still an an-  
archist. I am the same. The world  
has changed—that's why I haven't  
had to."

"Every one is an anarchist who  
loves liberty and hates oppression.  
But not every one is an anarchist for the  
other fellow. That is the task: I  
want to extend it to the world at  
large."

Declining to comment on the  
economic situation, she said she  
contract to lecture in the city.  
Miss Goldman said she had  
not promised to refrain from such  
topics in order to secure a tem-  
porary visa to visit the United  
States.

"I promised nothing," she said.

She did say frankly that she con-  
sidered President Roosevelt "the  
first President of the United States  
who had given any consideration  
for the workers."

As for the President's recovery  
program, she said she did not wish  
to comment. She had studied  
it at first hand.

"I have permission to stay here  
three months," she explained, "and  
in that time I hope to see all the  
great industrial centres."

Miss Goldman was met by Mrs.  
Lella Carhart, who spent a Sum-  
mer with her in Berlin some years  
ago. Until that meeting Miss Gold-  
man had been a bit glum, appear-  
ing tired and annoyed by her jour-  
ney.

At seeing her Rochester friend,  
however, she became the fiery,  
emotional personality of old, said  
"God bless you, Lella" and the two  
women hugged each other tear-  
fully.

While here she will see her  
brother, Herman Goldman, and her  
sister, Mrs. Samuel Commins.

Her return to this country was  
made possible through the efforts  
of American friends, she said.  
Roger Baldwin of the American  
Civil Liberties Union, and a com-  
mittee, including among others Pro-  
fessor John Dewey, Sinclair Lewis,  
Fannie Hurst, Sherwood Anderson  
and Dr. J. Holmes, aided her, she  
declared.

One thing she wanted understood;  
she came back, not bitter against  
any one.

"You see," she explained, "I be-  
lieve in the principle of letting  
people think for themselves, so  
why should I be bitter?"

Miss Goldman will lecture for New York  
tonight to her lecture tour on  
literature and her life.

Testified in Sugar Case.

Harry E. ... of the  
... New York,  
... the United States  
District Court today the United  
Porto Rico Sugar Company receiv-  
ership, said he planned to sail this  
afternoon for New York. As the  
examining counsel needed longer  
for his examination, he agreed to  
stay a few days more.

MR. NATHAN  
MR. TOLE  
MR. CLAY  
MR. ...  
MR. ...  
MR. EGAN  
MR. QUINN  
MR. LESTER  
MR. LOCKE  
MR. RORER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

Gay/gho

61-271-A

## 'Red Emma' Back Home; Puts O. K. on Roosevelt

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Feb. 1 (U.S.).—Emma Goldman, international storm center of anarchy, came home tonight. In the United States for 90 days on a special visa from President Roosevelt, the silver-haired "high priestess of anarchy," now 64 years old, snatched a few hours with relatives and friends she has not seen since she was deported to Russia in 1919 for criticism of the war draft, following two years of imprisonment.

The stoic mask which she wore as her train passed the international boundary at Niagara Falls earlier in the day fell off at the New York Central station here as "Red Emma" rushed to greet her sister, Mrs. Lena Commins, and a group of friends.

Her ideals have not changed one bit in 15 years. She said:

"I am too old to go back on

my ideals. Anarchism is not a matter of pride. It is a matter of conviction."

Miss Goldman announced she came to the United States to lecture on "Literature and Drama." The first lecture will be given in New York, for which Miss Goldman was scheduled to entrain late this evening. She will speak in the Community Church of Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

Miss Goldman thinks President Roosevelt "the greatest man ever to reside in the White House" and Mussolini "an opportunist who won't last long." For other European dictators she has little respect.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN

DATE

3/16/79 2333 Daj/gsh

61-271-A

W A R

### **Emma Goldman Visits Home She Fled Back in '91**

Rochester, N. Y., Jan. 31 (AP). Tempered by more than 40 years of battling against the social order, Emma Goldman, when she arrives here tomorrow, will find a different "home" from that which she left in 1891, a fiery, young anarchist.

Sixty-four now, she was 21 when, after a quarrel with her husband, she set off for New York, vowed to devote her life to anarchy. The Goldmans had settled here a few years previously after fleeing religious persecution in Russia.

Fourteen years ago the United States deported her to Russia. She returns on a 90-day Presidential permit.

She will find the home she last visited in 1919, but not her mother. She died in 1923 at the age of 86, unable to understand her daughter's hatred for "capitalism."

RECEIVED

3/16/79 2333  
Gajlgm

Washington - Post

1-1-34

NOTED

2/1/79

File

W.S.

## Emma Goldman Back in U. S. Today

TORONTO, Ont., Jan. 31.  
Emma Goldman, radical leader,  
will return tomorrow to the  
United States, from which she  
was deported in 1919 as an ad-  
vocate of anarchism.

She will visit with relatives at  
Rochester, N. Y.

3/16/79 2333 Dej/shu

NOT RECORDED

61

W H R S

**Emma Goldman**  
**~~Visits Home~~ She**  
**Fled Back in '91**

Rochester, N. Y., Jan. 31 (P).  
Tempered by more than 40 years of  
battling against the social order,  
Emma Goldman, when she arrives  
here tomorrow, will find a different  
"home" from that which she left  
in 1891, a fiery, young anarchist.

Sixty-four now, she was 21 when  
after a quarrel with her husband  
she set off for New York, vowed to  
devote her life to anarchy. The  
Goldmans had settled here a few  
years previously after fleeing religious  
persecution in Russia.

Fourteen years ago the United  
States deported her to Russia. She  
returns on a 90-day Presidential  
permit.

She will find the home she last  
visited in 1919, but not her mother.  
She died in 1923 at the age of 86,  
unable to understand her daughter's  
hatred for "capitalism."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 *Qaj/glu*

NOT RECORDED  
*6-1-91* *LO 10-2-5*

**EMMA GOLDMAN TO BEGIN  
VISIT IN U. S. TOMORROW**

By United Press

TORONTO, Ont. — Emma Goldman, radical leader, will return tomorrow to the United States, from which she was deported in 1919 as an advocate of anarchism.

She will visit with relatives at Rochester, N. Y., and then leave for a lecture tour of American cities. She recently was granted a temporary visa.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

*Dej/ghu*

NOT RECORDED

*W H A S*

# Emma Goldman Weds Jobless Miner for British Citizenship

**Trials as Woman Without a Country Thereby Were Solved.**

By James Martin Miller.

After having been away from her "beloved America" for nearly 15 years, the world's most notorious anarchist, Emma Goldman, is to make a three months' visit in the United States, beginning February 1 and ending May 1. The odd part of it is that she returns as a British subject.

Miss Goldman said in Toronto that she loved the United States more than any other country, but didn't like the government. Then she explained that she didn't like any government. After she was deported, with more than 100 others in 1919, she spent two years in Soviet Russia. The Communist leaders of that country provided for her and others deported from the United States and treated her very kindly, she said.

"After I had traveled over Russia pretty extensively, they wanted me to work for their government by lecturing and writing about the glories of their Communism. But I told them I could not do it, for I did not believe in any government, as a philosophical anarchist.

## Liberty Found Absent.

"I found that the people there are stripped of all liberty, and are not allowed to leave the country, except in the rarest instances. The misery of the people there because of inhuman living conditions is almost beyond description, and I do not see how some writers, whose articles I have read, can praise the conditions there."

Miss Goldman, in 1921, went from Russia to Germany. She was there for a time, then sojourned in Sweden and in England. Being a woman without a country and with no passport, she found it difficult to travel or live in any country. She said she had some financial help from outside friends in the United States.

She sold some of her newspaper and magazine articles, but found it almost impossible to deliver lectures, for none of the governments would give her permits to speak at public meetings. "England," she said, "was more liberal than any other government." Her one great



Associated Press Photo.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

need now was a nationality, her American citizenship having been forfeited.

In England, Miss Goldman set out to find a way to become a British subject. In Great Britain, when a foreign-born woman marries a Britisher, she automatically becomes a citizen of that country. Many years ago that was true in the United States as to American citizenship, but not now.

In Wales, Miss Goldman found an unemployed coal miner, a widower, with five young children. They were in poverty and want.

She told the father, James Colton, that his children needed a stepmother and that she wanted them as her stepchildren, and promised that on their wedding day she would give him 20 sovereigns (\$100, nearly).

## Passport Soon Follows.

A few days after their marriage Miss Goldman applied for and soon secured a passport and has been a British subject ever since. She did very well financially as a lecturer in England, it is said. In 1927, she was in Montreal and Toronto, leaving her husband and stepchildren in England. She explained that she had no matured plans for bringing her husband and stepchildren to Canada, as she makes lecture tours in Europe.

In Toronto she gave two lectures, one on "Philosophical Anarchy" and the other on "Birth Control."

The United States, in permitting her to make a three-month visit, has done so on the condition that she not speak on political subjects.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Bg/shu

NOT RECORDED

61-291-A

W H R 9



**Emma Goldman to Come Here.**

TORONTO, Jan. 10 (AP).—Emma Goldman, 64-year-old radical barred fourteen years ago from the United States, intimated today she would go to New York about Feb. 1. The State Department at Washington said yesterday she could return to the United States for ninety days providing she engages in no political activity. Miss Goldman is giving a series of four lectures here on "The German Régime." She said she planned to lecture in the United States.

FILE  
NO  
DATE

3/16/79

2333 Dg/gh

61-291

\*\*\*  
Miss Emma Goldman returns  
to America in the pink of con-  
dition.

\*\*\*  
How familiar the old phrase  
sounds, indeed—"Emma Gold-  
man gets 90 days."

\*\*\*  
When Emma Goldman from us  
fled

Some fifteen years ago,  
She was regarded as a Red,  
By those then in the know,  
But now the Brain Trust, don't  
you think,  
Would hardly call Miss Emma  
pink?

\*\*\*  
Miss Edith Thomas, indicted  
for the offense of having saved  
up some gold and clung to her  
property—in striking contrast  
to those who didn't save, let go  
of their property, and now  
have to be helped by the Fed-  
eral taxpayers—probably will  
not be so lacking in eminent  
counsel as the dispatches might  
have seemed to indicate. There's  
young Jim Reed, of Missouri,  
just itching to get up before the  
Supreme Court, and as he vol-  
unteered to help her father out  
if he defied the gold hoarding  
order, doubtless he has already  
sent a hot wire to the intrepid  
daughter.

ALL  
HERE

DATE 3/16/79

2333

Daj lgh

NOT RECORDED

61-291-A-

Wold R 2/18/34

## Exiled Woman Anarchist to Visit U. S. Next Month

By United Press

TORONTO, Ont. — Emma Goldman, apostle of anarchism who will be permitted to re-enter the U. S. after an exile of 14 years, announced today that she would cross the border some time in February.

Miss Goldman has been secluded here for the last three weeks.

"I'm terribly tired," she said, in refusing an interview.

Miss Goldman, 64, was granted a 90-day visa in Washington yesterday. She was sentenced to prison during the war for obstructing the draft and after her release was deported. She now is married to an Englishman and technically is a British subject.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333  
Daj/ghw

NPS RECORDS

61-291-A

WHT

# MISS GOLDMAN PRAISES VIEWS OF ROOSEVELT

Fiery Anarchist Calls Him First  
President to See Rights  
of Masses; Raps Sovietism

By JAMES N. CRANDALL  
TORONTO, Ontario, Jan. 10  
(U.P.).—Emma Goldman, fiery  
tongued apostle of anarchism who  
will be permitted to reenter the  
United States after an exile of  
14 years, told the United Press  
in an exclusive interview today  
that Franklin D. Roosevelt is the  
first President of the United  
States to recognize that "the  
masses have a right at the table  
of life." She said:

"He has made definite steps  
to better their conditions, and  
he's only just begun. It would  
not be fair to judge the re-  
sults yet."

Miss Goldman, who rose from  
a timid seamstress in a Roches-  
ter clothing factory to become  
known as "Queen of the Anarch-  
ists," does not think it is "in  
the brain work of capitalists to  
make improvement for the masses,  
but the United States has done a  
great many things to surprise  
the world."

## WOULD STUDY NRA

Of the NRA she said she must  
study it for herself before at-  
tempting to discuss it. She said:

"I have read that it has  
done great things for America  
but experience has taught me  
to discount what I see in the  
press."

Of her Anarchists views she  
stated:

"Most certainly they have not  
diminished. They have been  
greatly substantiated by the  
failure of every country of the  
world to cope with conditions."

Secluded here, Miss Goldman,  
now 64, has not yet been ad-  
vised that she has been granted  
a 90-day visa.

## LEFT RUSSIA FREE

She revealed that a committee  
headed by Fannie Hurst and Sin-  
clair Lewis is arranging a lecture  
tour of the United States for her.  
She said she would not speak if  
subjected to "too many don'ts."

She discounted reports that she  
had been barred from Russia,  
where she went after being fined  
\$10,000 and serving two years in  
Jefferson City Penitentiary dur-  
ing the war for obstructing the  
draft. She added:

"I left Russia of my own vo-  
lition. I found it impossible to  
live in a country where there is  
a complete dictatorship."

"Soviet Russia claims that  
there is no unemployment, no  
hardship, ~~no~~ poverty, but I  
have lived there and know bet-  
ter."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/79 2333 Gaj/ghw

NOT RECORDED

61-271-A

WCFD 9

# Emma Goldman Plans to Carry Red Gospel to U. S. for 90 Days

**Still a Fiery Anarchist and Apostle of Controlled Blood-Letting.**

**Calls Stalin a Quack, Fears She Will Be Shot if She Goes to Russia.**

Special Dispatch to The Star.

TORONTO, January 10 (N.A.N.A.).—"Red Emma" Goldman, who today received Washington's permission to re-enter for a 90-day period the country which deported her in 1919, is a little grayer, a little mellower, but still a fiery anarchist, still the apostle of controlled blood-letting, still "agin" all government.

President Roosevelt's Christmas amnesty proclamation entitles her, she believes, to re-enter the United States, and if she goes, she goes to carry the gospel of anarchy.

In her 64th year, with kindly eyes peering through thick glasses, she looks more than ever a plump, genial matron—remarkable for a woman who has had a hard life and has seen the inside of many prisons. She returns from Russia disillusioned about the new era in the land of her fathers.

"Russian sovietism is only 'left wing' fascism," she says, "and Stalin is only a quack." For these and other things she has said and written about Russia, she thinks she might be shot if she ever returned.

"Are you still an anarchist?" Miss Goldman was asked.

"More than ever," and her eyes blazed even brighter than the red dress she wears.

"And anarchy means absence of government?"

"It means a state of society without man-made law, a social arrangement based on co-operation for the production and distribution of human needs; in other words, a state of society that expects from each one according to his ability and gives to each one according to his needs."

"Can the dream be realized?"

"It can be realized when man understands that society has value only if every individual finds his field in life, and therefore can and will contribute his share. Governments have failed. They have tried to change conditions

and would start "soon." By "Machado" The secretary, without revealing complete details, said distribution of the lands to farmers on a basis of 33-1-3 acres per capita. Agriculture Carlos Hevia announced today that President Grau San Martin had signed a decree calling for the distribution of government and Machado lands to farmers on a basis of 33-1-3 acres per capita.



EMMA GOLDMAN.

knew. If she can't get back to the United States she may stay in Canada for a time. Then, perhaps, she will go back to the south of France, where she recently enjoyed leisure. She is not thinking of returning to Russia.

## WILL VISIT RELATIVE.

**Emma Goldman Expected to Behave Politically.**

By the Associated Press.

Mrs. James Colton is coming home again.

That would hardly appear to be news, but when the Labor Department pointed out that Mrs. Colton was Emma Goldman, the famous "Red Emma" who was deported to Russia in 1919 as an anarchist, it set the news wires to humming.

After obtaining a promise that she would behave, politically speaking, while in the United States, the Bureau of Immigration said the former Miss Goldman would be permitted to re-enter for 90 days for the announced purpose of visiting relatives.

Now 64 years old and the wife of a Welsh coal miner, Miss Goldman was known around the world when she toured this country with Alexander Berkman, preaching anarchism. After Berkman was sentenced to prison for an attempt to kill Henry C. Frick, Pittsburgh steel man, she worked alone

days. who have not been heard from for 10 ing zone of rebellious Fukien Province, copal missionaries, isolated in the fight-safety of six American Methodist Episcopals were held today for the Grave fears were held today for the MOCHOW, China, January 10.—By the Associated Press.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

2333  
3/16/19  
Laj/ghe

WGA

61-291-A

WASHINGTON D. C. POST January 11, 1934.

### Emma Goldman Plans N. Y. Trip in February

Toronto, Jan. 10. — Miss Emma Goldman, 64-year-old radical, barred 14 years ago from the United States, intimated today she would go to New York about February 1.

The State Department at Washington said yesterday she could return to the United States for 90 days, providing she engages in no political activity.

AL

HE

RE

3/16/79

2333 *Paj/glu*

RECORDED

67-291-A

*LC ATU*

## Emma Goldman Wins Permit To Visit Kin—If She's Good

Emma Goldman, once considered America's most dangerous radical, today was granted permission to re-enter the United States for 90 days to visit relatives.

The permission was granted by the Labor Department on Miss Goldman's promise not to engage in any political activities while here. Miss Goldman was in Toronto pending action on her application.

After 22 years of activity as an anarchist, Miss Goldman, now 64 years old, was deported to Russia in

1919. Her deportation followed a short prison term on charges of obstructing the draft and for her alleged activity with "Big Bill" Haywood and William Z. Foster in connection with a steel strike.

Miss Goldman is a native of Russia. She was born in Kovno, Russia (now in Lithuania). She came to this country at the age of 15.

Miss Goldman, who is an anarchist, not a Communist, violently

Continued on Page 4, Column 4.

## Emma Goldman To Visit U. S. Kin

Continued from Page 1.

disagreed with the Soviet and left the country. She has lived most of the time in England.

Miss Goldman, who obtained entry into the United States under her married name of Mrs. James Colton, first attracted attention when she was alleged to have been connected with the Haymarket riots in Chicago in 1886.

During the steel strike in 1892 Miss Goldman was connected with an attempt on the life of Henry Frick, steel manufacturer, who was stabbed. Alexander Berkman, a close associate, served 14 years for the crime. In 1893 Miss Goldman served seven months for her alleged connection with the Debs railway strike.

### Held in McKinley Crime.

In 1901, Leon Czolgosz, who shot President McKinley, confessed his act was influenced by his reading of books and articles written by Emma Goldman. She was arrested in connection with the McKinley shooting, held two weeks, and released.

When deportation proceedings were brought in 1919, Miss Goldman contended she was an American citizen, on the ground that she was at that time the wife of Jacob Kersner, an American. The courts held otherwise, and she and 247 other aliens were transported. She was sent to Finland because the United States had no official relations with Russia. From there she went to Russia, to receive a public welcome.

Shortly afterward, she left the Soviet Republic and traveled over most of Europe, lecturing

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

Gaj/gku

61-114

W.H.K.

# MISS GOLDMAN BANS 'GAG' ON RETURN TO U. S.

Fiery Anarchist, Allowed to  
Visit 30 Days, on Pledge  
She Will Avoid Outbursts

By Universal Service

NEW YORK, Jan. 9.—Emma Goldman still insists upon having her say regardless of the consequences.

It was announced today that a visitor's visa, permitting the fiery anarchist agitator, exiled 15 years, to enter the country for 30 days, would be granted upon representations of friends who declared that she would not talk on political subjects here.

## REFUSES TO WEAR GAG

But in Toronto Miss Goldman shook her shaggy head and declared:

"That would mean wearing a gag, and I will not consent to that. I believe, however, that I am entitled to reentry to the United States as a result of President Roosevelt's Christmas amnesty proclamation."

Wearing a red dress and punctuating her remarks with a red handkerchief, she indicated she has not moderated her implicit faith in her life long ideal that governments shall be wiped away and anarchism accepted. In giving her views on the state of the world today, she said in Toronto:

"The leaders are drawing the bulk of their support from youth—a generation ready to grasp at any doctrine since the war uprooted old values. They are struggling to desperately find their own values and, not succeeding, are easy prey to whatever social hypnotist came along and promised full play for their emotions."

## OPPOSED WAR-TIME DRAFT

A ruling granting the visitor's visa to Miss Goldman was handed down by Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor. The agitator and Alexander Berkman were expelled from the United States after serving a two-year sentence meted out in 1918 for "conspiracy to urge the people of draft age not to enlist." They were sent with 190 other radicals to Soviet Russia. But communism is as alien to Miss Goldman's tenets as is republicanism and monarchy, and she was as unwelcome there as in the United States, her adopted country.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Daj/ghu



## U. S. VISA IS SOUGHT BY EMMA GOLDMAN

Woman Deported as Anarchist  
Seeks to Fill Speaking Dates  
in America.

By the Associated Press.

TORONTO, Ontario, January 9.—Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States as an anarchist in 1919, declared last night that she sought an American visa so she could fulfill speaking engagements in the United States.

She denied reports she had insisted she be allowed to re-enter the United States on her own terms and that she had refused to consent to "wear a gag."

Miss Goldman said she would deliver a series of four lectures on Germany in Toronto this month and expected later to tour Canada.

(The Labor Department in Washington said it had received no application for a visa from Miss Goldman.)

H. Moorer, American consul here, said Miss Goldman had interviewed him several days ago in connection with her efforts to re-enter the United States.

He declined to divulge the outcome of the interview and said he could not discuss the case in detail while it was under consideration of American authorities.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

*Dejlgk*

*61-291-A-*

*LOH R. 9*

## SEEKS RETURN TO U. S.

Emma Goldman Hopes to Come  
Back to This Country.

TORONTO, Ontario, January 9 (AP).—  
Emma Goldman would like to return to  
the United States.

She was deported to Russia 15 years  
ago for obstructing the World War  
draft. The land of Communism was not  
Utopia, she found, and she has since  
been wandering about Europe.

If she is permitted to re-enter the  
country she will fulfill speaking engage-  
ments, she said last night. She would  
not say what her subject would be, be-  
cause "there may be conditions sur-  
rounding my re-entry to that coun-  
try."

3/16/79

2333

Staj/gkw

61-24

10 H 7

Mr. Nathan ✓  
Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Clegg ✓  
Mr. Edwards ✓  
Mr. Egan ✓  
Mr. Hughes ✓  
Mr. Quinn ✓  
Mr. Lester ✓  
Mr. Loebe ✓  
Mr. Cowley ✓

*Jan for 8712*

### Radical Seeks Entry

TORONTO, Ont. — Miss Emma Goldman was in Toronto today awaiting an answer to her application for a visa to permit her entry into the United States, which deported her in 1919 as an alleged advocate of anarchism.

3/16/79 2333  
gaj/ght

1.2  
1.2

61-291-A.

WHT to S

9

~~Balto. Sun, 1/10/34~~

**64-Year-Old Anarchist  
Leader To Visit In U. S.**



MISS EMMA GOLDMAN

*Balto. Sun 1-10-34*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *3/14/79* BY *2330 GJB/gh*

NOT RECORDED

*61-291-A-*

*W.C.  
W.C.*

*W.F.C.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghw

## U. S. OPENS GATES TO EMMA GOLDMAN

Anarchist And Labor Agi-  
tator To Be Permitted To  
Remain 90 Days

[Washington Bureau of The Sun]  
Washington, Jan. 9.—Mrs. James Col-  
ton, known throughout the world as  
Emma Goldman, anarchist and labor  
agitator, who was deported to Russia  
in 1919, today was permitted by the  
Department of Labor to reenter the  
United States for a period not to ex-  
ceed ninety days.

Miss Goldman, now 64 years old, and  
a British subject as the result of her  
marriage to a Welch coal miner, has  
been living in Toronto. In applying to  
the Bureau of Immigration for per-  
mission to enter the country she  
promised not to participate in any po-  
litical activities while here.

### Acts Under Two Statutes

In admitting her for a brief visit the  
Department of Labor explained that  
it acted under the authority of two  
frequently applied statutes and pur-  
suant to an opinion of former At-  
torney-General William D. Mitchell, a  
member of President Hoover's Cabinet.  
The first statute was the Act of May  
25, 1932, which was recommended by  
the Wickersham Commission on Law  
Observance and Enforcement. It al-  
lowed her to apply for admission al-  
though she previously had been de-  
ported.

The other statute was the ninth  
proviso of Section 3 of the Immigra-  
tion act of 1917. As interpreted by At-  
torney-General Mitchell, this proviso  
authorized the Department of Labor  
to accept the applicant's request for  
temporary admission, even though her  
political views might make it impos-  
sible to admit her to the United States  
for permanent residence.

### Spent Two Years In Russia

After her deportation in 1919, Miss  
Goldman lived in Russia for two years  
and then went to Sweden. Later she  
lived in Germany, France and Eng-  
land before going to Canada.

While comparatively little has been  
heard of Miss Goldman in late years  
there was a time, while she was tour-

(Continued on Page 2, Column 8)

## U. S. OPENS GATES TO EMMA GOLDMAN

Anarchist And Labor Agi-  
tator To Be Permitted To  
Remain 90 Days

WAS DEPORTED IN 1919

Radical Leader Promises Not To  
Participate In Political Activi-  
ties During Her Stay

(Continued from Page 1)

ing the country with Alexander Berk-  
man, that her name was anathema  
to conservative elements. Becoming  
interested in the anarchist doctrine,  
Miss Goldman left her first husband  
in Rochester, N. Y., in 1887, to take up  
this cause after the Haymarket riot in  
Chicago.

### Known As "Red Emma"

She became known as "Red Emma,"  
and continued her activities until  
Berkman was sentenced to prison for  
attempting to kill Henry Frick, the  
Pittsburgh steel magnate. During the  
fourteen years Berkman was in prison  
"Red Emma" worked alone, frequently,  
coming in contact with police and be-  
coming acquainted with a number of  
jails.

On September 6, 1901, when Leon  
Czolgosz shot President McKinley at  
Buffalo. In his confession the assassin  
said he had been influenced by the  
writings of Miss Goldman and by some  
speeches he had heard her make in  
Cleveland. She was arrested in Chi-  
cago and questioned for two weeks,  
but was released without prosecution.  
Later, during deportation proceedings,  
the subject was revived and some evi-  
dence was produced that she knew  
Czolgosz at least by sight.

### Two Deported To Russia

With Berkman's release the team  
again organized and it was not until  
1919, when they were convicted of  
obstructing the World War draft, that  
they were forced to leave the country.  
Miss Goldman and Berkman were de-  
ported, along with other radicals, to  
Russia where "Red Emma" remained  
for two years.

But her opposition to government  
brought her into controversy with the  
Moscow bureaucrats and it was not  
long before she was in Sweden. From  
that time on she has wandered, work-  
ing on her memoirs, which were pub-  
lished several years ago.

It was in 1926 that she announced  
that she had married a Welch miner  
and, claiming British citizenship, ap-  
peared in Montreal and attempted to  
enter the United States. She was de-  
nied admission and again returned to  
Europe.

### 'Good News,' Miss Goldman Says Of Action By U. S.

Toronto, Jan. 9 (P)—The door to the  
United States, barred to her since 1919  
when she was deported as an anar-  
chist, was opened temporarily to Emma  
Goldman today, but news of the action  
did not excite the 64-year-old social  
worker.

"That is certainly good news," she  
said at the home of friends, where she  
has lived the last three weeks while  
awaiting a decision from Washington  
on her application for permission to re-  
enter the United States.

### Plans Speaking Tour

"But I won't be able to go until about  
February 1."

She explained she promised to ad-  
dress four gatherings in Toronto, "and  
of course I must keep my word."

Miss Goldman indicated she probably  
will visit relatives and friends in Roch-  
ester, N. Y., and New York city before  
undertaking a speaking tour of the  
United States.

## Emma Goldman Seeks To Enter United States

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
TORONTO, Jan. 8.—Emma Goldman, who was deported to Russia from the United States for her radical activities, is here awaiting the result of an application to the United States Consul, Emil Sauer, for a visa to enter the United States. She plans to visit friends and to lecture on "The German Régime." Tonight she expressed confidence that her application would be approved at Washington.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
WASHINGTON, Jan. 8.—Labor Department officials said tonight that no application for re-entry to the United States had been received as yet from Emma Goldman by officials who would pass on her case.

RECEIVED

DATE 3/16/79

2333

Daj/ghd

file  
J.P.

100-291-7

WASHINGTON D. C. STAR January 8 1934.

2  
Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

### EMMA GOLDMAN BACK

Radical Reported in Canada Seeking U. S. Entry.

NEW YORK, January 8 (AP).—The Sun said today that Emma Goldman was in Toronto today waiting for the administration to grant her permission to return to the United States, from which she was deported December 21, 1919.

The Sun says she was told that permission would be forthcoming if she agrees to make only literary speeches, but that she had refused to consent to "wearing a gag."

3/16/79 2333 Gaj/gh

W H A 5

NOT RECORDED  
61 291 A



WASHINGTON D. C. STAR January 3, 1934.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Emma Goldman, exiled in Europe since the World War, will not be permitted to come back under President Roosevelt's recent amnesty proclamation if the Federal Grand Jury Association of New York can prevent it. The secretary of the association has formally remonstrated at the White House that Miss Goldman, "after a notably fair trial by a jury of 12 responsible citizens, was found guilty and recommended for deportation which was ordered by President Wilson," and should not be permitted ever again to set foot on American soil.  
\*\*\*\*\*

3/16/79 2333 Raj/ghu

file  
V W R

61-2916 W H 109

WASHINGTON D.C. HERALD, November 23, 1933.

EMMA GOLDMAN is coming  
back to the U. S. A.

The famous Russian anarchist, deported in 1919 with Alexander Berkman, for obstructing the draft, went to Finland and then into Soviet Russia. She was not a Communist. As an anarchist she believed in doing away with governments instead of heavy governmental regimentation. She left Russia in 1924, denouncing the Communists, and expressed a wish to return to the United States. She often spoke of the Declaration of Independence as a fine anarchist document.

Since 1924, she has made her headquarters in London and has travelled a great deal about Europe. She made one visit to Canada.

Roger Baldwin, head of the Civil Liberties Union, took up her case in Washington and those guiding the New Deal expressed no objection to her return. The trend to the Left today has been so fast that the speeches with which Emma Goldman used to electrify audiences in opposing the draft and in picturing the plight of people crushed by the economic system now would sound just "liberal." And Emma Goldman herself has become older and more placid.

So permission has been given her to come back.

The visit of four "sound

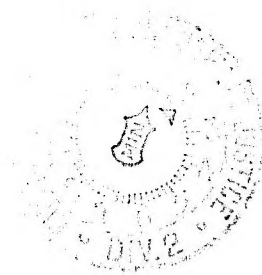
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/6/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghw

NOT RECORDED

61-291 A

W. H. D. S. J. C. W. H. D. S. J. C.



JUL 9 1931 AM

N  
2  
4

## Berkman Again Ordered Deported From France

PARIS, July 6.—(AP.)—Alexander Berkman, deported from the United States with Emma Goldman in 1919 for radical activities, faces expulsion from France after three months.

The government has issued an order for his deportation, but has granted him a suspension in order to investigate his conduct more thoroughly.

He denied he had been dabbling in politics and insisted France had no reason to order him from the country. He said:

"When any French govern-

ment feels it is about to fall, they renew my order of suspension. Now that Pierre Laval's cabinet seems destined to stay I am likely to stay, too. Why should France be afraid of an international literary ghost?"

Berkman has been ordered deported from France three times. He was sent to Belgium in 1930, but was allowed to return on the strength of friends' intervention.

Am Del 7/6/31

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Daj/ghd

INDEXED

NOT RECORDED

U-291

# PRESS CLIPPINGS ONLY.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Grand Rapids, Mich.**

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

**Grand Rapids, Mich. 12-26-23.**

**Dec. 26, 1923.**

**Jos. E. Bayliss.**

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

**Editorial from Grand Rapids Herald, :  
Dec. 26, 1923. A.H. Vanderberg, Editor.:**

11-291

## EMMA GOLDMAN TESTIFIES.

Emma Goldman has written a book. It is entitled "My Disillusionment in Russia." It is the most sweeping indictment of Bolshevism ever received on this side of the water. Emma Goldman, it will be remembered, was the most notorious anarchist—prior to her deportation—that ever sought to inflame America against existing institutions. Up and down our contented land she went, preaching violent revolution and recommending the Russian formula as the key to the proletarian millennium. Her testimony today is of a different stripe. She has tried out the proletarian experiment. She has lived with the Soviets. She knows the new Russian tyranny first-hand. It is no longer a perfumed Elysium; instead, she says it reminds her of nothing quite so much as Dante's Inferno. She found rulership transferred from Czarist hands to an equally close corporation of overlords, bolstered up by persecution, summary arrests and sudden death. She found rampant graft—not only of money, but also of food. She found excruciating class favoritism—even to an extent which denied bread to the millions of the masses. She found militarized industry, with workmen forced to labor long hours under the hard eyes of armed sentries. She found women (even pregnant women) and little children chained to factory benches by relentless task-masters. She found a few very nice "show schools"—

She calls them "traveling salesmen of the Revolution." Scarcely once in her vivid book does she applaud. "Those familiar with the real situation in Russia, and who are not under the mesmerizing influence of the Bolshevik superstitions, or in the employ of the Communists, will bear me out that I have given a true picture," she declares; "the rest of the world will learn it."

There are few questions upon which we would care to accept Emma Goldman's judgment. But when she writes of Russia—to which she went with such favorable prejudices that she says she could scarcely control her emotions when she touched "the sacred soil"—we are inclined to believe that she can be trusted not to have given Bolshevism the worst of it in her disclosures. Certainly the American "proletariat" ought to be willing to take her word for what really exists beneath the Soviet blight. As for the American Communist—the poor fool who believes all the glorious lies that Moscow tells him—here assuredly is testimony to give him pause. The Goldman book, meanwhile, comes at an opportune time. Soon we shall be hearing from several of our "progressive" Senators who went to Europe this summer "to find out the truth for themselves." Soon they will be telling us what they "saw with their own eyes" when Soviet conductors took them upon carefully prepared tours to view the camouflage that hid the disintegration of Russian civilization. Probably they never heard of Prince Potemkin, who was Great Catherine's Premier. The Prince, who had misappropriated all the funds Catherine gave him for the development of Southern Russia, took the Empress on a long trip through the country, showing her model villages, and happy, singing populations. While the Empress was resting at chateaux en route, Potemkin had the villages moved so she was surrounded with a vision of prosperity. When the Czarina discovered the fraud, years later, she jailed Prince Potemkin—afterwards executing him. After Emma Goldman has set the record straight, it is not surprising that she has been called a "show school."

when she idolatrously set forth the Bolshevists, or else these itinerant salesmen were lunched quite as well as Catherine The Great. We believe the latter. America will expect a villariously honest will to be shown. The American reads the Washington debates due shortly to start.

The manner in which testimony regarding Russia differs is utterly explainable—except on the old Potemkin theory. Today's Herald, for instance, in one of its magazines carries a long interview with Bishop Blake, in which he undertakes to paint Bolshevikia as a much misrepresented land of milk and honey. What he says of the Russian type—the mean, savage—is undoubtedly true. The average Russian has always been known as peace-loving, kind-hearted and pitiable. But, unless we are hopelessly misinformed by those who have intimately lived on the inside of this strange land, this same kindly Russian is himself one of the most tragic of all the victims of a Soviet Tyranny. We print Bishop Blake for what he may be worth. But at a time when our own State Department is disclosing new evidences of the dastardly efforts of these Russian Terrorists to penetrate America and "put their Red flag on the White House in Washington," we suggest to our readers that Secretary Hughes is a safer protector than Bishop Blake—and that Emma Goldman would scarcely testify against her erstwhile dreamland if she had any possible alternative.

U OF INVESTIGATION

RTMENT OF JUSTICE

FILE

INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

7-1189

24/38